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ABSTRACT

This paper summarizes an ethnographic study of three kindergarten and three first grade bilingual classrooms which investigated the impact on the school community of two conditions: (1) when teachers and staff were trained in cooperative methods for teaching and learning a second language; and (2) when the school initiated and implemented a parent advisory committee for the bilingual education program. Informants were parents, students, teachers, and all staff coming into contact with the children in the six classrooms. Formal staff development and parent training sessions occurred monthly. The report describes the methodology and organization of the original dissertation and outlines its findings and recommendations. It is concluded that in this case and in the course of the study, the school's approach shifted from assimilation to acculturation, ethnocentrism to pluralism, bicultural ambivalence to cultural pride, and melting pot model to cultural mosaic. However, these changes did not occur linearly but through unexpected shifts in direction due to staff/researcher interaction. Two ancillary findings were: that several monolingual staff were found to be particularly effective in the bilingual setting; and that team teaching evolved in this situation. A 28-item bibliography is included. A previously-proposed schematic framework for bilingual intervention and an adaptation suggested by this research are appended. (MSE)

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THE EMERGENCE OF THE FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTION IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

To look back on the nineties is to sense an awakening of social conscience, a growing belief that this incredible suffering was neither the fault nor the inevitable lot of the sufferers, that it could certainly be alleviated, and that the road to alleviation was neither charity nor revolution, but in the last analysis, education (Cremin, 1964, p. 59). This statement would give hope to the most disheartened educator, were it not for the fact that it refers to the 1890's, and not the 1990's.

The introduction of this research study traces the historical roots of the use of schooling as a means of Americanizing immigrant students. The purpose of this portrayal is to demonstrate that the United States has a long history of placing a hierarchy on the value of the language and culture of immigrants.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

During the last fifteen years there has been a revolution in research regarding second language acquisition as much more has become known about bilingual education. Not only has there been a surge in knowledge about second language acquisition, there has also been considerable research conducted on the impact of culture and societal status of language acquisition (Heath, 1986; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Giroux, 1987; Peal & Lambert, 1962; Hakuta, 1986; Fishman, 1977; Ogbu & Matute-Bianchi, 1986; Díaz, Moll, & Mehan, 1986; Cortés, 1986). However, in spite of this increase in knowledge, there is a paucity of literature which demonstrates what districts can do in order to impact positively the culture of their

school so as to improve the achievement, self-concept, and intergroup relationships of their students.

STATEMENT OF THE PURPOSE

The purpose of this study was to analyze the impact of second language acquisition staff development in conjunction with cooperative learning strategies and to provide parent training for the parents of language minority students of this bilingual elementary school.

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Conscientization is the term Paulo Freire (1970) uses for the empowerment which transforms learners and teachers. It is the process of using knowledge and literacy to critically examine one's environment.

Hidden curriculum refers to a dominating cultural perspective on values, mores, customs, and language which are to be assimilated by all children. Hidden curriculum exists parallel to the observable academic curriculum which the district has chosen.

Multiple realities, as used in naturalistic research, posits that there are many constructed realities, as opposed to the positivist view that there is only one tangible reality. Multiple realities can only be viewed in context.

Voice is the discourse which encodes one's world view. *La voz* will be used for the purposes of this research project because the author feels that much of the connotation of the word is lost in the English translation.

Zone of Proximal Development is the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers (Vygotsky, 1978).

RESEARCH QUESTION

1) What is the impact on the school community when teachers and staff are trained in second language acquisition through the use of cooperative learning?
2) What is the impact on the school community when a school initiates and implements a parent advisory committee?

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The philosophical paradigm regarding language minority students has many names in the literature. For the purposes of this research, the dichotomy will be referred to as **PROPS**, or proponents, versus **OPS**, or opponents, (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986). **PROPS** is to tapestry/mosaic, pluralism, acculturation, voluntary, enrichment, maintenance, and additive as **OPS** is to melting pot, ethnocentric, assimilation, obligatory, compensatory, transitional, and subtractive. This research is based on the theoretical framework which states that although the debate regarding bilingual education appears to be a controversy regarding methodology, it is founded on basic philosophical and political differences (Cummins, 1990; Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986; Hamers & Blanc, 1989; Hakuta, 1986; Romaine, 1989). Skutnabb-Kangas (1981) refers to this as the pedago-political consequences. The American educational system is

creating a two-tiered society, whereby a hidden curriculum and a ceiling effect are directing the educational program (Freire & Macedo, 1987; Giroux, 1987).

METHODOLOGY

The methodology for this study is formulated on the naturalistic paradigm which inductively seeks understanding of multiple realities. This approach lends itself to bilingual education because one cannot understand second language acquisition without also understanding the societal context of language development. The researcher played the role of participant/observer throughout the 1990-1991 academic school year. The study focused on the six bilingual classrooms: three kindergartens and three first grades. The informants were the parents of these students, their teachers, and all staff members who come in contact with the children in these classes. Formal staff development and parent training sessions took place monthly. The researcher was on-site two days per week in order to provide informal follow-up for the training sessions and support. The data were continually written, analyzed, and interpreted throughout the study.

Theoretically and methodologically, this researcher believes that experience is qualitative and organismic. This world view sees experience as complex, holistic, and interactive. In any experience, and in this particular case of a bilingual education experience, there is an unlimited, unpredictable, and dynamic process which is continually evolving and being informed by the entire context.

The original plan of the methodology was based on interaction between the researcher and all involved in the school community.

The interaction grew at a rapid rate however, as it developed momentum and almost took on a life all of its own. For the researcher, it was a living example of Vygotsky's (1978) Zone of Proximal Development which is defined as the distance between the learners' actual developmental level and the level of potential development with the guidance of the teacher and interaction with more capable peers. In this project, it soon became apparent that as the researcher and the teachers solved problems together, the effectiveness of staff development increased.

Having established the world view of the researcher, it requires that the researcher must be able to transform her ways of knowing into signs and symbols which become meaningful to others. If phenomena are viewed as organismic, they must be represented by methods which are complimentary to this way of knowing. The data must reflect how the researcher views reality.

In Shirley Brice Heath's Ways with Words "doin' ethnography" calls upon exactly such capacities, namely, the skill and judgment that enables all human beings to see examples as representative, to recognize general ideas in concrete, palatable form, in perceived objects and events, in remembered or envisaged scenes (Berthoff, 1990, p. 13). For example in the data analysis of Chapter IV, the on-going story of the interaction between the teacher, Carmen, and her students is presented to demonstrate how theory and practice are continuously in a process of construction and reconstruction. Carmen, who has been reading Freire since the early 1970's, **knows** that she **knows,** which is what Freire meant when he used the word, conscientization. In Carmen's room, knowledge is never transmitted,

it is always generated. In this room, each child is a part of the empowerment process by sharing, listening, reading, and writing. Each child takes risks and is rewarded. Each child interacts and generates. Each child has unlimited potential to move through the zone of proximal development because of the interaction with Carmen and with their peers. This is liberation literacy.

The researcher in this study sought to use tacit knowledge to describe and interpret the entire context of phenomena and their interaction. Based on this philosophical stance, the study was able to focus on what is valued in society, and how those values impact people and power. In this research project, the focus is on how those social values impacted the entire school community.

The researcher attempted to follow a Freirian (1985, pp. 11-12) model which he articulated as: I must be constantly open to criticism and sustain, my curiosity, always ready for revision based on the results of my future experience and that of others. And in turn, those who put my experience into practice must strive to recreate it and also rethink my thinking. In so doing, they should bear in mind that no educational practice takes place in a vacuum, only in a real context -- historical, economic, political, and not necessarily identical to any other context.

Ethnographic research allows for self-correction during the course of the inquiry, in that questions posed at the outset are changed as the inquiry unfolds, and topics that seemed essential at the outset are replaced as new topics emerge (Hymes, 1982). The validity of this observation was apparent to the researcher throughout the data collection process. Initially, the focus was on

second language acquisition, cooperative learning, staff development and parent training. Within the first few weeks of this project, the focus changed to the interaction and transformation which followed the trainings.

> [The main body of the analysis of data is presented in the dissertation in the form of an 80 page critical ethnography. All events described actually happened although the context occasionally was altered in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants. The two research questions were addressed in the analysis of the data which was portrayed in five symbolic schools days throughout the year. Due to the space limitations for the NABE dissertation competition, the ethnography has been omitted from this text.]

A FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTION

After several months of data collection, the researcher sat down for a three-day weekend in March 1991 to analyze the data. What themes would emerge? What story would the data tell? During this process of mapping and webbing and searching for connections and linkages that something familiar started to take shape in the data. Cummins' (1989; p. 59) Framework for Intervention started rising from the mounds of notes spread all over the table. (See APPENDIX K of the original dissertation.) It was as if a transparency of the intervention framework was placed over the data. **OPS** were changing to **PROPS** (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986), and the researcher had been too close to notice until this very moment. On a continuum of change, subtractive was moving towards additive; exclusionary to inclusionary; transmission to transactive

knowledge; legitimization towards advocacy. Not all the words in the data were the exact words of Cummins, but the concepts were the same. The staff development with the teachers had triggered a process of interaction which was transforming the teachers and students. The teachers were becoming empowered through their interactions within their context: teachers were mediating their environment (Freire & Macedo, 1987). The Framework for Intervention of Cummins and the PROPS versus OPS framework Skutnabb-Kangas have been joined in order to encompass the knowledge generation of this dissertation. (See APPENDIX L of the original dissertation.)

In the Framework for Intervention, Cummins (1989) posits that educational equity for language minority students will become a reality only when educators and families acknowledge the subtle (and, not so subtle) forms of discrimination which exists in society and which are reflected in the schools. Overt racism of the past has become covert institutionalized racism of today, and, it is this process of subjugation which prevents language minority students from succeeding at the same level as their English-only peers. This institutionalized racism is reflected daily in the interactions of students and teachers. Educators need to acknowledge such racism and see bilingual education in a broad framework of anti-racist education (Cummins, 1989).

The intervention framework portrays a process of change from an Anglo-conformity orientation to an inter-cultural orientation. The data analysis of Chapter IV demonstrates that an Anglo-conformity orientation changed to an inter-cultural orientation.

Cummins' theoretical framework posits that this change process takes place simultaneously on four different fronts: (1) the cultural and linguistic incorporation needs to move from subtractive to additive; (2) the community participation needs to shift from exclusionary to collaborative; (3) the pedagogy must change from transmission of knowledge to interactive/experiential; and (4) assessment of the program abandons a legitimization-orientation and moves towards an advocacy-orientation. The students enable themselves within a more hospitable framework.

Throughout the process, it was clear to the researcher that staff development, per se, was having a very limited effect; however, it was obvious that the staff development triggered interaction, and the interaction led to transformation. The transformation which took place was the Framework for Intervention. It was not until the very final weeks of data collection, that the researcher was aware of what themes (the four aspects of the Cummins Intervention Framework) were to emerge.

Hymes (1982) states that in an ethnography, topics will emerge which the researcher could not have predicted at the beginning of the data collection, and this is exactly what happened during this process. Although the Framework for Intervention seems clear in the data now, in keeping with the a posteriori methodology, it was not planned, nor even anticipated by the researcher. Hymes (1982) states that questions which seemed important at the outset will change during the process of data collection. The questions which seemed important at the beginning of this project related to staff development, cooperative learning, second language

acquisition, and parent training. However, later in their data collection, the participant shifted the focus to questions which related to self and social transformation in bilingual education.

Limitations

This research project is limited to the study of the two research questions and the methodology which is inherently a part of the naturalistic design. In naturalistic inquiry, the realities, which we seek to understand, are multiple and holistic. The researcher and the context are inseparable and interactive. All generalizations are idiographic, or time- and context-bound. The events, people, and data are continually in a process of mutual shaping. The researcher, as the human instrument, brings tacit knowledge to the process of inquiry. The themes emerge naturally from the grounded theory, and the outcomes are negotiated (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Organization of the Study

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter I contains all introductory information. Chapter II is the Review of the Literature which looks historically at second language acquisition and cooperative learning. The literature review was subdivided into Linguistic Context, Sociocultural Context, and Critical Pedagogy and how each of the three affect limited English proficient (LEP) children in public schools. Chapter II is designed to set the stage for the analysis of data which is found in Chapter IV. The inherent link between theory and practice is observed in the form of data. The theory has been presented in Chapter II, and the data of Chapter IV provide examples of the theory in action. As stated by Freire (1985, pp. 11-12), the theoretical foundations of my practice are

explained in the actual process, not as a *fait accompli*, but as a dynamic movement in which both theory and practice make and remake themselves. The summary, conclusions, ancillary findings, and recommendations are found in Chapter V.

CONCLUSIONS

From the results, it can be concluded that the approach at Bowie School reflects a shift from assimilation to acculturation; from an ethnocentric approach to a pluralistic approach; from bicultural ambivalence to cultural pride; from the melting pot model to a mosaic.

The data indicate that the changes did not happen in a linear and isolated manner; one thing lead to another throughout the study. Unexpected paths developed from the interaction of the staff and the participant/observer.

For example:

1) The staff development was effective to the extent that it was a trigger for interaction which led to transformation. Cooperative learning strategies were learned and implemented and tailored to fit the context. But, the interaction which followed the staff development was more educational for all. Because of the interaction, the transformation which developed was. . .

2) the implementation of the Framework for Intervention. Because of the implementation of this theoretical framework,. . .

3) **OPS** (opponents) began to more towards **PROPS** (proponents). And, because of this shift in thinking and acting,. . .

4) bilingual education at this school began to fit into the various definitions of critical pedagogy: for example,

a) students became as valuable as the knowledge;
b) students and teachers were encouraged to critically examine their environment;
c) students found meaning in their classroom or were encouraged to mediate their environment (Freire & Macedo, 1987);
d) students and teachers know that their actions can make a difference;
e) emancipatory literacy (Reading the Word) leads to social transformation (Reading the World);
f) cultural democracy was implemented in the classroom.

Thus, the implementation of a cooperative learning/second language acquisition staff development and parent training component in this context was a factor in dissolving the paradox (Hakuta, 1986) of language value. This paradox of language value refers to the societal-cultural perception which places a very high social value on bilingualism which is attained through the (1) educational system or communicative contextual experiences and a very low social value on bilingualism which is acquired (2) when immigrant groups need to learn the dominant language of a culture in order to survive in that culture (Hernández-Chávez, 1986; Fishman, 1977, 1976; Lambert, 1981; Ogbu & Matute, 1986). Valdés (1988) has characterized this dichotomy as elite bilingualism versus natural bilingualism. As **OPS** (opponents) moves towards **PROPS** (proponents), the paradox began to dissolve because the value of the Spanish language and culture was raised. Perhaps the rosiest future

for bilingual education in the United States can be attained by dissolving the paradoxical attitude of admiration and pride for school-attained bilingualism on the one hand and scorn and shame for home-brewed immigrant bilingualism on the other (Hakuta, 1986, p. 229).

Ancillary Findings

During the course of the data collection, the researcher found that the data reflected several findings which were completely unexpected. The first ancillary finding was that several monolingual English staff members were particularly effective in the bilingual setting. The second ancillary finding was that the team-teaching model, which was not planned for in the original methodology, grew naturally from the contextual relationship of this specific situation. It is hypothesized that this model was so successful (1) because of the pride and ownership of the first grade teachers, and (2) because the principal provided the inclusive, empowering model of leadership which encouraged the staff members to take control of their environment. The data indicate that the teachers consistently felt that they could change their environment.

Recommendations

The results of this study indicate that bilingual education needs to be viewed from the broader perspective of critical pedagogy. The successes of this research project go well beyond the confines of second language acquisition and cooperative learning. The data indicate that these particular language minority students were better served because of an anti-racist approach to education.

The recommendations from this study are that more research needs to be conducted (1) to find ways to more effectively use English-only personnel within bilingual education programs; (2) to articulate the criteria which are part of being an effective bilingual administrator; (3) to implement Cummins' Framework for Intervention; (4) to relate "the oral language supremacy assumption" as defined by Harste, Woodward, & Burke in Language Stories and Literacy Lessons (1984) to BICS/CALP as defined by Cummins in Schooling and Language Minority Students: A Theoretical Framework (1981), and (5) to conceptualize and articulate the relationship between bilingual education and critical pedagogy.

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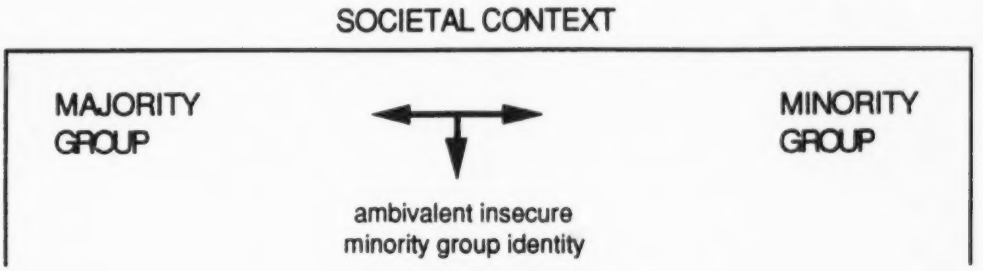
APPENDIX K

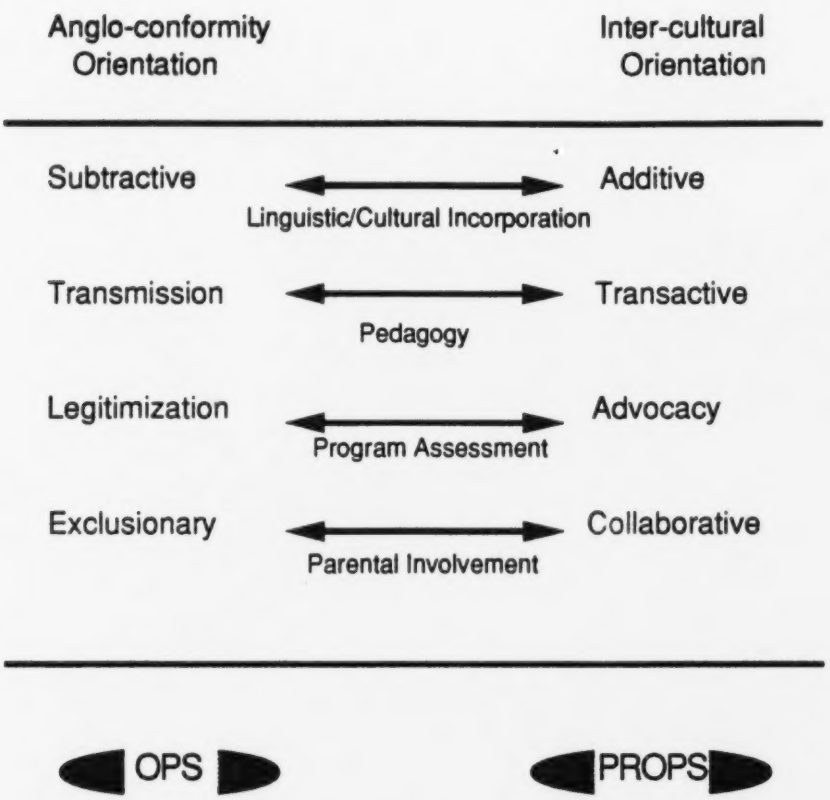
FRAMEWORK FOR INTERVENTION



(Cummins, 1989)

APPENDIX L

ADAPTATION OF THE FRAMEWORK



(Adopted from Cummins, 1989 and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1986)